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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] [171] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*ack*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any [388] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axoeek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axoeektas* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 764 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-